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3. Delafosse, Haut-Sénégal et Niger [Upper Senegal and Niger].

4. Labouret, Les Mandingues et leur langue [The Mandingo and Their Language].

etc., but these are still very fragmentary and incomplete. In addi-
177 tion, this society was completely disrupted by the French conquest, either by such radical measures as the suppression of slavery or by a natural evolution as a result of contact with European societies. Nevertheless, traditional structures retain their vitality, despite the effort to adapt them to European formulas.

178 The society seems to have oscillated between familial anarchy and the clan stage, according to alternating ranges of groupings, disassociation, and regroupings.

1. The Family

594 Concerning the Sudanese, Delafosse has already made the
596 distinction between "the restricted family" and the "extended family." The restricted family is composed of the parents and children who live in the "hut." Taken alone, it does not represent a social unit. The true social cell is the extended family. This is the large united family made up of a group of restricted families whose heads recognize a common ancestor. This group, composed of agnates in principle, is the ba-denya, whose members live in huts within an enclosure: gwa or so. The two ends of this [51] enclosure rest on a blõ (vestibule) where the ancestors' altar is found.

601 According to Labouret, the Bambara distinguish three cate-
612 gories of family ties: the paternal line, the maternal line, and relationship by marriage. The child takes the dyamu (honorable name) of his father's group, but the terms applied to ancestors and descendants are the same as those of the maternal line.

"... Kinship includes the following generations: tolo-mina... tolo-sama... tolo-ma-sama: who seizes or pulls ears (a belief has it that if a great grandson pulls the ear of his great
[829] grandfather, the latter becomes deaf);

601 mo-kɔ (1) = grandfather; mo-muso = grandmother;
612

1. ɔ = è as in the French mère.

fa = father;
dẽ = son, daughter;
modẽ = grandson, granddaughter;
tolo-mina, etc., as above;
fu... fuy..., as above.

a. In the Paternal Line:

fa = father	dẽ, de, di = son, daughter
ba, ma, na = wives of the father	dẽ = son, daughter
binã, baba-ndi;	dẽ = son, daughter
benoro = the father's brother; ba - the name = wives of father's brothers	de = son, daughter
ntene; bingi-musu = father's sister	dẽ; bingilingo = son, daughter, nephew, niece.
o or ben-kɔ = husband of father's sister; ben-kɔ is a polite term	the name
kɔrɔ = older brother, son of father's brother older than speaker	doro = younger brother, son of father's brother younger than speaker
kalame = child of father's sister	kalame = child of mother's brother
mokɔ = father's father	mo-dẽ, or the name = son's son
mo-muso = father's mother	mo-dẽ, or the name = son's son

604 Ntene = father's sister (term derived from a root ta which has also given tana, tene, interdiction). The maternal aunt is the forbidden woman of this generation. The same is true for the father's wives and those women they consider as sisters. This relative wields a great influence in the family, and her curse is greatly feared. The children of the ntene-muso are called kalame, and they call the

604 children of their mother's brother kalame. The kalame-w joke and insult each other when they meet. Marriages between them are sometimes permitted, sometimes forbidden.

601 [52] b. In the Maternal Line:

612

ba: mà; na = mother	dẽ = son, daughter
ben-nkɔ bele-nkɔ bari-nkɔ } mother's brother	be-ni; bare-ndi = sister's son
ba + the name = wife of mother's brother	dẽ = son, daughter
ba-ko . . . . (after mother) ba + the name } mother's sister ba-ni-t'ɔ-ni .	dẽ = son, daughter
o or fa = husband of mother's sister	o or de = son of wife's sister
kɔrɔ = child of mother's brother or sister, if older than speaker	doro = child of mother's brother or sister, if younger than speaker
de = child of kɔrɔ or doto	kɔrɔ or doro of the brother
mo-kɔ = mother's father	o or dẽ = daughter's son
mo-muso = mother's mother	o or dẽ = daughter's son (1)

1. Labouret, Les Mandingues et leur langue [The Mandingo and Their Language].

604 The maternal uncle plays a very important role; he must arrange the marriage of his be-ni. He owes him a wife taken from among the daughters of one of his brothers. In exchange, the be-ni owes payment in labor.

The mother's sister is just barely considered a relation.

603 Sexual rivalry exists between grandfather and grandson, grandmother and granddaughter; this is why they defy and insult each other when they meet. When the grandparents die, the grandchildren have the same privileges as the senanku [parties to a special kind of

603 alliance]. (It is also customary for grandfathers and grandsons to eat together, while the sons eat apart.)

612 601 c. By Marriage: T'ɛ, K'ɛ, Kɛ = husband's name, corresponding to muso (muso, term for spouse [female?]).

Bira nk'ɛ = father-in-law, son-in-law, brother-in-law, and all the male relatives of the husband or wife, corresponding to bira-muso = mother-in-law, daughter-in-law, sister-in-law, and all female relatives of the husband or wife.

587 When a man dies, his wives go to his younger brother; and if a man's wife dies, he may marry her younger sister . . .

582 611 This patrilineal and patrilocal family must have grafted itself onto an ancient matrilineal system (see the chapter on inheritance and position of women). The systems of clan exogamy and endogamy are united: two pairs of brothers and sisters marry among themselves; sons must take their wives from their mother's family, and marriages take place between cross-cousins; children never belong to their parents' category, while grandchildren and grandparents always are in the same category.

583 [53] We shall see that alongside this matrimonial system in which wives are exchanged there exists a system in which payments are made to the fa of the young girl.

596 The size of the united family varies, but it may include more than 80 persons. Labouret (1) gives us, as an example, the composition

1. Op. cit.

of the blõ of Ngolo Traoré at Mpiéla, Kolokani subdivision:

	Men	Women	Children
1. Household of Ngolo	1	8	15
2. Household of Samba, Ngolo's brother	1	2	4
3. Household of Dotné, Samba's son	1	2	3
4. Household of Denkoro, son of deceased Bakoro	1	3	1
5. Household of Fabugai, Ngolo's son .	1	2	4
6. Quarters of unmarried males, all sons of Ngolo and Samba . . .	5		
	10	17	19 [sic]
		46	